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17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS) The analysis deals with: demographic, historical, and cultural background factors; and the housing, family life, and educational and economic participation of Spanish surname, non-Puerto Rican people in five southwestern States. Conclusions are based on an examination of existing literature, a survey of expert opinion, field checks of selected aspects, and a demographic investigation. There are over 3.5 million Spanish-speaking people in the United States. Since 1940 they have changed from a predominantly rural population to an overwhelmingly urban group, to a far greater extent than other white and nonwhite groups. They exhibit distinctive cultural traits that encourage residential and social segregation. Over half of them are under 20 years old. Evidence shows that: the housing of Spaniards is much poorer than that of other white and nonwhite groups, yet Spaniards pay higher rent for units of comparable value; the rates of fertility, morbidity, mortality, and broken families among Spaniards are high; educational achievement is lower than for other white or nonwhite, with 25 to 50 percent of the Spaniards having four years or less of formal education, income is low, and unemployment is high; and many Spanish-speaking people are migrant laborers, which presupposes little education, child labor, and poor family conditions for youth. Recommendations to improve the situation of Spanish youth include better opportunities to learn English in schools; effective leadership that can overcome negative community and school attitudes toward a lower-class, seemingly foreign ethnic groups; better vocational counseling, apprenticeship, and job training; prevention of employment discrimination; better enforcement of housing, slum, and sanitation laws of all cities; and greater efforts to reduce the dropout rates by providing more motivation for education.																							
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THE MOVEMENT OF SPANISH YOUTH FROM RURAL TO URBAN SETTINGS

by

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
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THE MOVEMENT OF SPANISH YOUTH FROM RURAL TO URBAN SETTINGS

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ABSTRACT of

THE MOVEMENT OF SPANISH YOUTH FROM RURAL TO URBAN SETTINGS

by Donald N. Barrett and Julian Samora
University of Notre Dame

Spanish-speaking people in the United States constitute a heterogeneous, very large (over 3.5 million) ethnic group, most of whom are third or more generation citizens. Concentrated in the five southwestern states, Spanish-speaking people exhibit distinctive cultural traits, encouraging residential and social segregation vis-a-vis the dominant Anglo group. Since 1940 they have changed from a predominantly rural population to an overwhelmingly urban group, far more than Anglo and nonwhite. Over 50 percent of the Spanish population is under 20 years of age, signifying high rates of dependency, high proportions in infancy and child-youth status, and high demand for community youth resources, such as schools, health facilities, recreation, sanitation, etc.

Information from a variety of sources shows that: (1) Spanish live in housing inferior both in quantity and quality relative to either Anglo or non-white, showing extensive deterioration, over-crowding, lack of bath and toilet facilities, yet they pay proportionately more rent for accommodations of comparable value; (2) Spanish fertility is high, as is the incidence of morbidity, mortality, and broken families; (3) educational achievement is notably lower than Anglo or nonwhite, with 25 to 50 percent of the Spanish having four years or less; (4) unemployment rates are considerably higher for all Spanish, and income is comparatively very low for the majority; (5) although not the main topic of this presentation, migratory labor streams include hundreds of thousands of Spanish, involving little education, much child labor, and poor family situations for youth.

These serious disadvantages can be discussed as follows: (1) there is need for Spanish people to learn English and this must be cultivated through adult education and the regular schools, which often today forbid any use of Spanish (thus creating obstacles to the learning of English from the first grade on); (2) schools and communities find it difficult to communicate with this predominantly lower-class, seemingly foreign ethnic group, and these barriers can be overcome only by development of effective leadership on both sides; (3) barriers can be overcome by providing more adequate vocational counselling, apprenticeship and job training, as well as by preventing employment discrimination which should accompany more adequate enforcement of housing, slum, sanitation laws of all cities; (4) another vicious circle, namely, "no economic opportunities - no motivation for education" can and must be broken to prevent the continuation of the present high rates of school dropouts.

Careful research is needed to identify the bases for the needed action programs. The young, recently rural Spanish generally need to participate in and use all community resources, although the latter are often already taxed heavily by existing programs. Pride, optimism, and social participation must arise in neighborhoods and families to combat poverty, personal and social depression, and aimlessness. Neighborhood social and physical renewal, education, and the churches suggest some foci of organization already somewhat understood by Spanish.

THE MOVEMENT OF SPANISH YOUTH FROM RURAL TO URBAN SETTINGS

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to speak of Spanish-speaking youth in the United States without a great deal of explanation. An other presentation treats the special issues of Puerto Ricans. The present analysis focuses primarily on Spanish-surname, non-Puerto Rican people in five southwestern states. Yet even these restrictions define a most heterogeneous population in both the physical and cultural sense. Consequently, caution must be exercised in making any generalizations. 1/

DEMOGRAPHIC DEFINITION OF THE POPULATION

Curtailement of this analysis to Spanish in the Southwest may seem arbitrary. However, it can be justified in that any broad-scale picture requires use of the extensive census data developed from the 1950 and 1960 enumerations by identification of Spanish surnames of individuals, families and households. This fine work was executed only for the five southwestern states where Spanish-surname people are concentrated. 2/ This set of data provides us with many of the characteristics of these people, such as education, housing, employment, etc. There is no direct information, however, concerning the characteristics of these people in other states.

To give some expression of the comparative size and distribution of Spanish-surnames, comparative numbers are given in Table 1 for five other racial or ethnic groups:

Table 1.

Selected Racial and Ethnic Groups in Five Southwestern States, 1960*

State	Spanish Surname	Negro	Indian	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino
Arizona	194,356	43,403	83,387	1,501	2,936	943
California	1,426,534	834,642	39,014	157,317	95,600	65,459
Colorado	157,173	39,992	4,288	6,846	724	605
New Mexico	269,122	17,063	56,255	930	362	192
Texas	1,417,811	1,187,125	5,750	4,053	4,172	1,623
	3,464,996	2,222,225	188,694	270,647	103,794	24,570

* Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Tables 15 in PC(1) 4B; PC(1) 6B; PC(1) 7B; PC(1) 33B; PC(1) 45B; and Press Release of June 3, 1962 CB 62-72.

Spanish surnames constitute the largest group compared with any other racial or ethnic minority in each of the states as well as in all five states. Further, it can be safely said that Spanish constitute one of the largest ethnic groups in the United States. 3/ Identification of "Mexicans" was made by census in 1930, of Spanish mother tongue in 1940, and Spanish surname in 1950 and 1960. But all of these indices are deficient in estimating the population we are trying to define, although the last two censuses have come remarkably close.

HISTORICAL DEFINITION OF THE POPULATION

The rubric "Spanish surnames" attempts to define a population quite heterogeneous, historically and culturally. In the late 1500's and first half of the seventeenth century Spanish colonies were established in what is now New Mexico and (somewhat later) Arizona and California. This group has been variously called Spanish-American, Spanish-Colonial, or Hispano. For over 200 years they flourished until 1823 when New Spain successfully completed its revolt from Spain and these people became Mexicans. Shortly thereafter, many became citizens of the Republic of Texas, but by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ending the Mexican War in the late 1840's, approximately 100,000 Spanish-American became United States citizens. Even today many of these people have resisted acculturation (especially in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado), and have not fully adopted America's dominant values.

Subsequent immigration from Mexico was relatively light until the period 1910-1930, when hundreds of thousands moved north to work in fields, railroads, and small industry. Political and economic turmoils within Mexico have served to "push" them north; the higher wages, employment opportunities and standards of living in the United States have served to "pull" them. By 1940 there were in the United States over a million persons either born in Mexico or of Mexican-born parents. By 1960 this figure had risen to 1,735,992. ^{4/} "Other Latin American" stock adds an additional 580,679. Of the 3,464,996 Spanish surnames indicated in Table 1, 1,864,158 were born in the United States of U.S.-born parents (54%). Unfortunately, there is no information available on citizenship status, but there is little doubt that over 80% are U. S. citizens.

CULTURAL DEFINITION OF THE POPULATION

Ethnically the population of Spanish-American and Mexican descent ranges from Indians to those of unmixed Spanish ancestry, with many persons being of Spanish-Indian ancestry ("Mestizos"). The latter are particularly frequent among recent Mexican-Americans. The Spanish surname reports of 1950 and 1960, however, had as their objective considerably more than mere identification of persons of Mexican birth or parentage. It involved an attempt to "identify the third and later generations of such immigrants" as well as the descendants of Spanish-American inhabitants of the Southwest.

This logically raises the question: do Spanish surnames remain ethnically identifiable through the third and later generations? No one quarrels with the distinctiveness of first generation immigrants, as shown by the index that Spanish is the third most common "mother tongue" of the foreign born in the United States (after English and German). ^{5/}

From the very beginning of contact between Spanish-speaking and Anglo, ^{6/} the former were unable to cope effectively with the aggressive behavior, imperialism, and "manifest destiny" expressed by Americans. Additionally, Spanish-speaking American citizens were politically and religiously differentiated in Catholic-Protestant, democratic-patron and other dichotomies. "Since 1850 the developing patterns of social segregation (voluntary or involuntary) became so entrenched that they continue to the present time.

During the past twenty years studies of specific areas dealing with the Spanish-speaking have well documented this position. Thus, we find today a very large population living in a subordinate position vis-a-vis the dominant society, and to a large extent living in social isolation. The American public school system, to the extent that it is effective, has only recently begun to break down this isolation." 7/

Although this population is heterogeneous, there does exist a strong group identification to "la raza" or to "nosotros los Mexicanos." Today most social participation, parties, picnics, dances, religious services, and participation in social and civic organizations is along ethnic lines. Marriages are practically endogenous. Most students would agree that value orientations of the Spanish-speaking contain the following components: a strong pattern of traditionalism, familism, paternalism, and personalism, suggesting a high regard for authority, a clinging to traditional ways and a disdain for social and cultural change; a philosophy of acceptance and resignation pervades the present group; a time orientation emphasizes the present rather than planning for the future; the sacred orientation deriving from long association with and dependency on nature and closeness to Catholic tradition stresses respect for the order of reality rather than encouraging the drive to change personal or group status or position; less education means simple divisions of labor, higher value placed on self-sufficiency than riches, and on oral rather than written traditions. Contrast these values with those which Williams describes as dominant American values: emphasis on achievement and success; on activity and work; on a pragmatic moral orientation; on humanitarianism; on efficiency and practicality; on progress, material comfort, equality of opportunity, freedom, external conformity, science, and secular rationality; on democracy, nationalism-patriotism, individual personality, and racism. 8/

RURAL DEFINED AS AN URBAN POPULATION

Spanish-Americans and Mexican Americans historically have been predominantly rural people. Prior to 1940 they were still predominantly rural, but due to World War II and subsequent events, a strong movement to urban centers gained impetus and this continues today. In a single generation the Spanish-speaking have changed from a rural to an overwhelmingly urban population. This dramatic movement can be described by comparing it with rural to urban changes of Anglo and nonwhite populations.

At present Spanish surnames are more urban than either nonwhite or Anglo. In the lifetime of most Spanish-speaking adults, there has been a move from traditional rural surroundings to the new world of city living. Since 82 percent of all Spanish surnames in the five Southwestern states live in California and Texas, the sharp urban movement in these states is indicative of the general pattern. There has been movement among the Spanish in these five states as well. The Spanish have declined from 37 percent in New Mexico's total population in 1950 to 28 percent in 1960, in spite of the fact that Spanish constitute a high fertility group. The Spanish percentages in California and Texas have risen two points (from 7 to 9 and from 13 to 15 percent, respectively). Between 1950 and 1960, Spanish surnames in the five states increased 51 percent (88 percent in California), compared with a 36 percent

growth for Anglo and 45 percent for nonwhite. The basic population characteristics of the Spanish in the Southwest includes rapid urban movement in the last twenty years, current high urban concentration, significant total increases, and interstate migration. At the same time, however, it becomes important to remember that most of these newly urban residents are still carrying a rural, folk culture with them, creating important problems of adjustment in their new environment.

Table 2.

Percent Distribution Urban and Rural: Spanish Surname, Anglo, Nonwhite in Five Southwestern States, 1950 and 1960.*

State	Spanish		Anglo		Nonwhite	
	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960
<u>Arizona</u>						
Urban	61	86	60	77	23	36
Rural	39	14	40	23	77	64
<u>California</u>						
Urban	75	93	81	85	86	91
Rural	25	07	19	15	14	09
<u>Colorado</u>						
Urban	50	77	64	73	83	86
Rural	50	23	36	27	17	14
<u>New Mexico</u>						
Urban	41	61	62	72	23	33
Rural	59	39	38	28	77	67
<u>Texas</u>						
Urban	68	83	62	73	63	75
Rural	32	17	38	27	37	25
<u>Total</u>						
Urban	66	86	72	80	68	64
Rural	34	14	28	20	32	36

* Sources: 1960 Census, Table 14, PC(1) B for each state; 1950 Census, Table 2, "Persons of Spanish Surname" (Special Report P-E No. 3C), and Table 13 of same census for each state.

SPANISH DEFINED AS A YOUNG POPULATION

Unfortunately, the 1960 Special Report on "Persons of Spanish Surname" is not yet available. How one defines "youth" is partly a matter of choice, but there is little doubt that the Spanish-speaking are very young compared with other groups.

Table 3

Median Ages for Spanish Surname, Total White, and Nonwhite, Five Southwestern States, 1950 and 1960.*

<u>State</u>	<u>Spanish Surname</u>	<u>Total White**</u>		<u>Nonwhite</u>	
	<u>1950</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>
Arizona	19.8	27.8	26.7	20.3	18.4
California	22.7	32.3	30.4	29.0	25.9
Colorado	18.2	29.6	28.0	28.8	24.8
New Mexico	19.2	24.4	23.4	19.3	17.6
Texas	19.6	28.1	27.4	26.7	24.1

* Sources: for 1950 see Table 2 of the source cited in previous table; for 1960 see census series PC(1)B for the respective states.

** The medians here for Total White include the Spanish Surname populations.

For 1950 the Spanish-speaking averaged 5 to 11 years younger than the total white group, and in every state the Spanish were also younger than nonwhites. In four of the five states well over 50 percent of Spanish were of less than voting age, signifying high rates of dependency, high proportions in the infancy and early childhood ages as well as in the school ages, lower ratios of "active" employable persons, and smaller percentages in the "aged" groups. Explanations for the youthful character of this group can be found in the relatively young age at marriage, high fertility, large families, and probably lower life expectation. In this very situation one can perceive the rural, traditional pattern of life characteristic of depressed, underdeveloped peoples. Although the 1960 information on age by state is not available, a comparison of census tracts in five standard metropolitan areas in the Southwest suggests that the remarkably young nature of Spanish groups was still true in 1960. Table 4 contains a variety of data, presented separately for central city tracts (averaging approximately 4,000 persons each) having a high versus low density of Spanish. In tracts having a high density of Spanish, the total white or nonwhite groups are older. In all but one of these high density areas, over half of the Spanish population is under 18 years of age. Although the Spanish tend to be older in tracts where there are fewer of them, the differential between Spanish and the total white becomes even greater. In the suburban areas Spanish are again much younger, although the differential is often not as large. Special note can be taken of the suburban areas of high density in Pueblo and San Antonio, where over 50 percent of the Spanish people are 13 years or younger.

A number of conclusions are thus far warrantable from the preceding:

1. The Spanish-speaking constitute one of the largest minorities in the United States.

Table 4.

**Characteristics of Populations in High- and Low-Density Spanish
Tracts of Selected SMSA's in Five Southwestern States, 1960**

Area and Characteristics	Phoenix			Los Angeles			Pueblo			Albuquerque			San Antonio		
	High	Low	High	High	Low	High	High	Low	High	High	Low	High	High	Low	Low
CENTRAL CITY															
Percent Spanish	76.2	13.8	88.4	22.0	62.8	20.3	79.0	11.0	95.4	32.2					
Median Age	16.6	20.0	17.8	24.0	17.0	15.1	20.7	-	15.6	25.2					
Spanish	21.1	36.3	18.5	30.1	17.3	28.0	21.6	27.0	16.0	33.9					
Total White	18.8	23.6	26.9	31.3	-	-	24.1	-	-	-					
Nonwhite															
Housing Units															
Percent Deteriorated and Delapidated	82.1	40.1	56.5	0.1	34.8	25.7	66.5	3.9	40.1	9.8					
Percent Shared or No Bath	53.1	7.9	5.9	-	3.3	9.0	37.5	1.1	54.3	9.8					
Percent 1.01 Persons Per Room	9.4	3.7	9.1	2.5	9.5	5.3	10.0	2.1	10.6	3.6					
Median Values															
Owners	\$6,300	\$8,200	\$9,000	\$15,800	\$5,600	\$7,700	\$7,000	\$13,400	\$5,000	\$8,900					
Gross Rent	\$41	\$62	\$60	\$86	\$52	\$66	\$40	\$82	\$33	\$53					
Family															
Children Per Couple	3.05	1.25	3.0	1.53	2.77	1.66	2.54	0.80	3.31	1.23					
Percent Children in Broken Family	18.3	27.5	20.6	9.2	14.5	13.5	26.2	18.1	25.1	24.4					
Education*															
Median Years	5.3	9.9	7.1	12.2	8.0	10.0	7.6	12.6	4.4	11.5					
Index of Elementary School Enrollment	101	110	107	100	105	103	105	115	102	87					
Index of High School Enrollment	44.5	82.1	75.8	107	69.2	97.1	109	207	51.7	68.0					
Labor Force															
Percent Unemployed	11.1	8.7	9.0	3.7	11.2	7.4	11.3	8.5	9.7	3.6					
Percent Laborers	44.0	13.6	18.9	4.1	31.1	8.7	20.0	2.5	21.1	5.2					
Income (median)															
Family and Individual	\$2,000	\$3,110	\$4,345	\$7,162	\$4,057	\$4,776	\$3,049	\$4,609	\$2,576	\$3,533					

Table 4. (Continued)

**Characteristics of Populations in High- and Low-Density Spanish
Tracts of Selected SMSA's in Five Southwestern States, 1960.**

Area and Characteristics	Phoenix			Los Angeles			Pueblo			Albuquerque			San Antonio		
	High	Low		High	Low		High	Low		High	Low		High	Low	
SUBURBS															
Percent Spanish	65.7	22.1		53.6	9.2		50.4	8.2		65.0	35.0		83.1	33.2	
Median Age															
Spanish	22.2	18.4		13.6	16.0		12.3	11.6		16.2	18.4		15.0	17.6	
Total White	22.0	13.6		20.2	26.1		15.8	22.3		18.2	21.9		16.3	26.0	
Nonwhite	-	-		30.6	25.8		-	-		-	18.9		-	-	
Housing Units															
Percent Deteriorated and Dilapidated	56.9	47.0		30.0	5.4		48.7	-		27.0	15.7		29.2	42.1	
Percent Shared or No Bath	26.3	27.6		4.9	0.2		65.9	-		31.0	21.1		36.6	49.3	
Percent 1.01 Persons Per Room	9.5	9.5		7.1	2.9		9.4	3.4		8.0	7.3		11.3	23.5	
Median Values															
Owners	\$5,000	\$5,000		\$13,200	\$22,300		\$5,000	\$14,200		\$7,900	\$10,200		-	\$5,800	
Gross Rent	\$54	-		-	\$88		-	-		-	\$50		-	-	
Family															
Children Per Couple	2.61	2.47		2.37	1.86		2.93	1.96		2.56	2.15		2.84	1.82	
Percent Children in Broken Family	16.7	7.4		11.1	5.8		6.9	3.1		12.7	9.6		10.7	8.4	
Education*															
Median Years	6.7	8.5		10.0	12.4		8.7	12.5		8.5	10.1		5.3	8.4	
Index of Elementary Enrollment	107	113		101	100		94	94		111	108		87	105	
Index of High School Enrollment	53.1	70.0		91.9	110		69.5	88.7		15	112		46.7	78.1	
Labor Force															
Percent Unemployed	4.3	3.0		8.0	1.7		8.1	1.9		6.4	6.3		11.3	3.0	
Percent Laborers	11.6	4.9		8.8	1.2		4.0	0.9		1.3	1.8		-	2.3	
Income (median)															
Family and Individual	\$2,220	\$3,316		\$5,941	\$8,114		\$4,467	\$6,976		\$4,031	\$4,754		\$2,556	\$3,340	

* For an explanation of these indexes, see page

2. In addition, they form an historically and culturally identifiable group, having many characteristics in common and especially possessing similar values and a strong sense of group identification.
3. Within one generation Spanish-speaking have moved from a predominantly rural to an overwhelmingly urban situation, carrying with them the rural, traditional patterns with attendant problems in the city setting.
4. Without a doubt Spanish-speaking constitute one of the youngest minorities in the United States with considerably less than 50 percent of its population over 20 years of age. This large number of children and youth reflect additional problems in becoming effective citizens.

With the general picture thus clarified, we may enter briefly into some of the housing, educational, family, economic, and other problem-areas, which mirror the day-to-day struggles of these American citizens to live and participate effectively in their new communities.

INSTITUTIONAL AND SITUATIONAL PATTERNS

HOUSING

In a strongly family-oriented group such as the Spanish-speaking, the influence of physical surroundings, of four walls, of the rooms, the furniture, and even the availability of bathrooms, cannot be underestimated. Not only does the type and quality of a housing unit influence the quality of interaction of family members, but among the gregarious, friendly (within their own group largely) Spanish-speaking, comparison of quality of housing in one's neighborhood (approximated by a census tract) with the quality of housing in a contiguous neighborhood becomes inevitable. To pick up this human perspective in general focus we may compare housing characteristics in tracts which are high-density Spanish with contiguous tracts which are low-density Spanish. Table 4 does precisely this; it also compares contiguous tracts in the central city as well as the suburbs of five standard metropolitan areas. The tracts were selected solely because they showed contiguity and sharp differences in density of Spanish-speaking. The cities were selected on the ground that they possessed relatively large Spanish-speaking populations and gave some indication of the situation in each of the five states under consideration. 9/

Some general state information indicates that in the period 1950 to 1960 Spanish-speaking families were proportionately losing home ownership in a period when both the total white and nonwhite were improving their home ownership status. If the percentages of renter-occupied units is increasing for Spanish-speaking, then the tract information in Table 4 becomes even more meaningful than it would otherwise be. There can be little doubt that a very large number of central-city Spanish live in deteriorated and dilapidated homes. Just a few blocks away from their own homes these people can see that far fewer homes are in a depreciating state. Over 50 percent of the housing

units occupied by Spanish living in central city tracts in Phoenix, Los Angeles and Albuquerque are declining in quality, whereas nearby most of the other homes are in "sound" condition. In the urban fringe or suburbs the same situation exists, except that the difference between high and low density neighborhoods is not as great, although nearly 50 percent of the Spanish homes in Phoenix and Pueblo are in poor condition. To show that the comparison of tracts has some general power of explanation, we need only to examine the data in Table 5.

Table 5.

Housing Deterioration and Dilapidation in Total SMSA's in the Southwest, 1960.

Area	Spanish Surname		Anglo		Nonwhite	
	Percent Deteriorated	Percent Dilapidated	Percent Deteriorated	Percent Dilapidated	Percent Deteriorated	Percent Dilapidated
Phoenix	27.0	15.6	14.4	5.5	26.7	23.7
Los Angeles	15.3	5.1	5.2	1.0	12.8	2.6
Santa Barbara	35.5	10.3	5.3	2.2	18.3	13.3
Denver	26.0	5.7	8.4	1.4	26.4	3.5
Pueblo	26.9	15.0	17.8	5.6	-	-
El Paso	22.4	14.5	8.4	2.1	16.5	6.7
San Antonio	24.9	12.6	10.3	3.3	23.6	9.5

There can be little doubt that Spanish are living in proportionately more deteriorating and dilapidated homes than their neighbors, and, at the same time, more and more Spanish must rent their homes rather than acquire ownership.

The same pattern of living can be confirmed in regard to other indices of housing arrangements. From one-third to over one-half of the housing units occupied by Spanish do not have bathrooms. The contrasts between high and low density neighborhoods are most striking in the central city. Sharing or lacking a bath within the housing unit assuredly creates problems of privacy and the maintenance of personal hygiene, to say nothing of the interfamily problems of determining who (and when one) is to use a shared facility or an outside bath. Like the situation of dilapidation and deterioration as well as renting rather than owning, there arises a serious difficulty of maintaining individual and family pride, responsibility, and respect. The suburban tracts in Pueblo and San Antonio are particularly notable in this respect.

Confirming this picture of deprivation, the index of over-crowding in housing units manifests the problems of intrafamily privacy and decency. Data for the 31 SMS's 10/ in the five southwestern states consistently indicate that Spanish have more people crowded into fewer rooms than either Anglo or nonwhites. In San Antonio, for example, 45 percent of the housing units occupied by Spanish have more than one person per room, whereas only 9 percent of Anglo and 21 percent of nonwhite units are this crowded. Correspondingly, both Anglo and nonwhite units have higher percentages involving 0.50 persons or less per room. In Lubbock, 72 percent of the Spanish units are crowded

and there are no SMSA's with fewer than 20 percent of the Spanish units over-crowded. Only two of the SMSA's show that more than 12 percent of the Anglo units are over-crowded. Consequently, the tract or neighborhood data in Table 4 give only minimal estimates of the total picture for Spanish.

From the same table we can see that invariably Spanish occupy housing of less value than the people in low-density tracts (with one questionable exception, suburban Phoenix). We might expect that if the median values of owner-occupied housing differs at a given rate, then the differences in gross rents should show the same magnitude. By way of illustration, we may reason that if, in general, the value of Anglo housing in low-density tracts in Phoenix is 30 percent higher than in high-density tracts, then rents in low density-tracts should be proportionately higher. The fact, however, in Phoenix is that rents in low-density tracts are 51 percent higher than in high-density tracts. The reasoning is not entirely conclusive (since rents may be determined more by lack of available rental units, rather than saleable units), nor is the pattern in all five SMSA's clear in Table 4, but further study in this direction could well uncover whether higher rents are being charged for lower quality housing. Although the data is only suggestive that Spanish and nonwhites are disadvantaged in this respect, there is considerable evidence of differential renting patterns. For instance, in Corpus Christi, Spanish median gross rent is \$44 and value of housing \$5,200, whereas the corresponding figures for nonwhites are \$45 and \$6,300, and for Anglos the figures are \$69 and \$11,125. The same pattern is found in Lubbock, Texas. Whatever the explanation, it seems clear that Anglos get better housing for their rental dollar than either the Spanish or nonwhite.

FAMILY LIFE

High birth rates and larger families are characteristic of a rural, tradition-oriented people. There are no general data available for births to the Spanish-speaking, but a crude measure of fertility has been computed for the SMSA's in the Southwest by determining the number of children under five years compared to the number of women in the "childbearing ages" (defined here as 15 to 44 years). In each of the 31 cities except Laredo, the Spanish fertility is notably higher than Anglo, and in all but six the Spanish is higher than nonwhite fertility. Illustrative comparisons are presented in Table 6.

Table 6.

Child-Woman Ratios in Selected SMSA's of the Southwestern States, 1960

<u>SMSA</u>	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>Anglo</u>	<u>Nonwhite</u>
Phoenix	.895	.547	.850
Los Angeles	.717	.492	.604
Pueblo	.836	.568	.614
Albuquerque	.825	.592	.720
Odessa	1.042	.577	.724
San Antonio	.779	.543	.700

The assumption of higher mortality of Spanish, especially at the ages 0 to 4, seems justified on the basis that they constitute a lower socio-economic group than Anglo. Consequently, the fertility differentials probably are greater than those shown in Table 6.

Many authors, such as Burma and Williams ^{11/} and Sister Woods ^{12/} have commented on the higher incidence of morbidity and mortality among Spanish-speaking during the 1950's. Many obviously cannot afford adequate medical care in terms of preventive and therapeutic measures. The above data on bath facilities merely suggest the more wide-spread pattern of neighborhoods lacking sanitary water supplies, insect and rodent control, sewage and garbage disposal, hospitals, clinics, nurses, and physicians. The recently rural, lower-status nature of this young population also carries significant cultural obstacles to the maintenance of good health standards and methods of preventing untimely deaths. Even when adequate facilities and personnel are available, their conceptions of health and medicine prevent full and effective utilization and promote ridicule and rejection of medical conceptions and practices. Analysis of the causes of death from 1955 to 1959, in counties ranked from lowest to highest density Spanish, give some gross evidence that tuberculosis, infective and parasitic diseases, influenza and pneumonia, and gastritis-enteritis-colitis, etc., are perceptibly associated with Spanish concentration.^{13/} It has become clear, then, that these newly-urban residents (often in slums) manifest higher fertility, morbidity, and mortality than their fellow Anglo citizens.

Family sizes of Spanish-speaking are considerably higher than Anglo, as suggested in Table 4. In the center of some of these SMSA's, Spanish neighborhoods show two and three times the number of children per married couple compared to contiguous, non-Spanish neighborhoods. Only in suburban tracts do family sizes come relatively close, but in every case Spanish have more children (under 18 years of age). Moreover, among the 20 tracts compared the Spanish have more children in broken families, due to death, divorce or separation. It becomes clear, then, that large numbers of young people are being raised in families without the love, control, and counsel of both mother and father. This fact alone becomes of cardinal importance in the light of the inadequate housing, high fertility and mortality, and large family sizes outlined previously.

EDUCATIONAL PARTICIPATION

On the basis of sheer consistency or logic we might expect that a disadvantaged population such as the Spanish-speaking would show lower educational achievement and lower educational participation rates. If we take the census data for "persons 25 years and over," the first expectation is completely verified. In Table 7, years of school completed are compared for 1950 and 1960.

Table 7.

Median Years of School Completed by Persons 25 Years and Over in the Five Southwestern States, 1950 and 1960.

State	Spanish Surname		Total White		Nonwhite	
	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960
Arizona	6.1	7.0	10.6	11.7	5.5	7.0
California	7.6	8.6	11.8	12.1	8.9	10.5
Colorado	6.4	8.1	10.9	12.1	9.8	11.2
New Mexico	7.4	7.7	9.5	11.5	5.8	7.1
Texas	3.6	4.7	9.7	10.8	7.0	8.1

In both years, the total white population (which includes the Spanish) has completed from three to six years more schooling than the Spanish-speaking in the Southwest. Also, in both years, only in Arizona and New Mexico did the nonwhite (predominantly Indian) fall below the achievement of the Spanish. Since the people we are here talking about include the parents and role-models of young people, a more detailed examination may produce further insights. Although in the last decade all three population categories have increased educational achievement by about one year, the differential has thereby remained the same and large segments of the Spanish remain "functionally illiterate." A person with four years or less education can be denominated "functionally illiterate" insofar as communication by reading and writing remains at a primitive level.

Table 8.

Percent of Persons 25 Years and Over in Selected Educational Achievement Categories for the Five Southwestern States, 1960.

State	Spanish		Anglo		Nonwhite	
	4 Years or Less	High School or More	4 Years or Less	High School or More	4 Years or Less	High School or More
Arizona	35.1	14.6	3.6	45.0	37.5	15.7
California	24.0	24.4	3.6	54.8	12.0	39.8
Colorado	24.0	18.3	3.2	54.6	8.3	44.6
New Mexico	29.6	18.9	3.7	56.9	39.2	19.0
Texas	52.0	11.7	6.3	46.3	23.6	20.9

From Table 8 we see that from one-fourth to one-half of the Spanish are functionally illiterate, whereas very few Anglo can be placed in this category. The high nonwhite rates in Arizona and New Mexico reflect the large Indian populations in those states. Finally, it may be noted that if counties are arranged from the lowest to the highest-density Spanish, we perceive: (1) that in most counties females have higher educational achievement than males; (2) that as the counties in a state such as Texas becomes more rural, the achievement level declines; and (3) as Spanish density increases, more counties show lower levels of achievement.

Since educational participation means cultural and linguistic changes in Spanish families, we might expect lower school participation rates among these people. There appears to be a consensus of opinion among most observers, professional and nonprofessional alike, that the Spanish-speaking lack sufficient motivation to stay in school or obtain much education at all. Explanations for this allegation include many factors such as the different cultural setting, contrasting historical and family background which did not place value on education, lack of supportive behavior from kin and peer groups, lack of understanding of the role that the school can play in economic and social improvement, and the more commonplace stereotypical reasons: they are lazy, shiftless, indifferent about getting ahead, and actually unable to do so.

To obtain some answer to such open questions we may compare the enrollment rates of age-eligible youth in high-density Spanish tracts with similar rates in low density tracts. In Table 4 there are two such rates or indices: (1) the number actually enrolled in elementary school divided by the number of all children in the tract 6-13 years, multiplied by 100; (2) the number actually enrolled in high school divided by the number of all children 14-17 years, multiplied by 100. Although these figures are expressed as percentages, they are properly indices. The numbers enrolled (in each tract) in elementary school are taken as a proportion of all children 6-13 years of age. Similarly the numbers in high school are expressed as a proportion of all children 14-17 years. Some 13 and 19 year-olds may be found in high school and some 5 and 14 year-olds in elementary school. The indices compare enrollments of high and low-density Spanish tracts using the same definition for the base population (denominator for the index calculation). The index numbers between 100 and 115 may be explained by acceleration and retainment of children in regard to age-grade placement and achievement. The 207 index number of central city Albuquerque has no adequate explanation at this time.

This index reveals clearly that Spanish children in center-city neighborhoods proportionately tend to be more involved in elementary schools than children in low-density areas. Thus, our expectation of low school participation rates by Spanish youth does not hold up. In suburban neighborhoods we find that children participate in elementary education in equal ratio (San Antonio being the exception).

Table 4 indicates that at the high school level only one-half to three-quarters of the age-eligible children in high-density Spanish neighborhoods are enrolled (exception: the Albuquerque tracts). Is this sharp drop in enrollment rate to be attributed to lack of motivation? Anyone familiar with the Spanish-speaking "man-in-the-street," at meetings, in his home, at the tavern will assuredly know of his great desire for and value placed upon education. He will invariably speak regretfully of his lack of education and how it has kept him from advancement. He will also tell you of great plans for his children (which you know, statistically, will never come true). Can this nearly universal picture be so simply ascribed to self-excusing, rationalizing hind-sight? The most likely explanation for dropping out of school by these children is their frustration with the school and community in which they live. In the process of gaining an elementary education the Spanish-speaking child internalizes attitudes of inferiority and futility. If he

comes to school speaking Spanish, the school, having few teachers with this language facility, finds it "necessary" to prohibit its use. Inferior facilities and teachers are ascribed to Spanish areas, and inadequate counseling, lack of encouragement from staff, and differing curricula result in inferior education. The child looks about him and wonders about his occupational, educational, and status opportunities; about the section of town in which he lives; about his role models. He is thus likely not to be inspired to great scholastic effort. If, too, neither his family, peer groups, school or community come forth with continuing efforts of encouragement and support, dropping out of school and getting a job is probably the best answer to his situation. What happens to and goes on in the minds of these children between grades 7 to 10 constitute a crucial area of research.

ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

The employment patterns of the Spanish-speaking have included predominately agricultural and unskilled occupational jobs. True, businessmen, proprietors, and professionals have and do exist, but employment has been concentrated in the agricultural and unskilled occupations. This, in turn, can be described as a function of the rural, tradition-oriented character of these people. Some traditions, however, are beginning to undergo change, as indicated by the rise in female Spanish participation in the labor force between 1950 and 1960. Even so, Spanish females are found somewhat less frequently in the labor force than all white females.

Unemployment rates, as indicated in Table 4, reveal that high-density Spanish neighborhoods have notably more joblessness than low-density contiguous areas. Also center-city tracts show higher levels than suburban tracts (with the exception of San Antonio). There has been a decline in unemployment at the state level between 1950 and 1960, but the differential rate of unemployment between the Spanish and the total white populations has remained.

Table 9.

Percent Unemployed, by Sex, for Five Southwestern States, 1950 and 1960.

<u>State</u>		<u>Spanish Surname</u>		<u>Total White</u>		<u>Nonwhite</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Arizona	1950	13.6	11.3	7.5	6.3	11.3	7.8
	1960	6.1	N.A.*	4.6	4.9	14.4	10.8
California	1950	13.3	16.0	7.3	7.8	13.9	14.1
	1960	7.7	N.A.	5.5	6.3	10.1	9.8
Colorado	1950	15.8	13.2	4.3	3.8	5.8	5.7
	1960	9.6	N.A.	3.8	4.1	6.7	6.4
New Mexico	1950	10.9	6.1	5.8	3.8	6.3	4.1
	1960	10.4	N.A.	5.4	5.6	16.0	8.9
Texas	1950	9.3	7.7	3.7	3.1	6.0	6.0
	1960	8.3	N.A.	4.0	4.3	7.3	6.7

* Not available

Many explanations are offered for the high Spanish unemployment rates (which range from two to three times that for total whites). More Spanish females are looking for work and thus are counted in the labor force, whereas as recently as twenty years ago in rural areas such women would remain in the home, and would not be counted in the labor force. The youth of the Spanish group creates a situation of less seniority, less experience in a given kind of work, and less perceptiveness as to the jobs to obtain. Consequently, when a recession occurs, these youth are more likely to become jobless. Moreover, the rural tradition of accepting the order of reality as it is, militates against the formation of a strong drive for economic advancement. There is some evidence that Spanish-speaking workers keep to themselves on the job and not to mix with fellow workers or supervisors, minimizing chances for upward job mobility. We do not cite job discrimination as an explanation of higher unemployment rates, because there have been too few studies of broad scope to indicate a general pattern.

Tract, SMSA and state figures, however, supply additional information for explaining unemployment. Table 4 gives the percentages employed as laborers of all employed persons in 10 high-density and 10 low-density tracts. In high-density Spanish tracts in the central city between 20 and 40 percent are employed as laborers, whereas none of the low-density Spanish tracts show more than 13 percent. The suburban tracts have smaller ratios of laborers, but the differentials between high- and low-density tracts persists. These figures refer to employed males only, and show secondary concentration in "operatives and kindred" and the "craftsmen..." categories. High Spanish tracts show female concentrations in the "operatives and kindred" and "service workers except private household" categories. Persons in these unskilled trades, whether they are Spanish, Anglo or nonwhites, suffer most from unemployment when business fluctuates downward. An examination of the industrial composition of workers residing in these neighborhoods reveals that the highest concentrations for Spanish tracts are in construction, manufacturing, and retail trade. Being comparatively unskilled workers in these industrial sectors of business does not offer very much in terms of job security. The role of unions in aiding Spanish employment has not been examined in this analysis.

A powerful index of personal and family achievement is income. Without the necessary income it is difficult for a person to maintain status in his community, and it is improbable that his family can function effectively. From Table 4, for example, we can perceive a correlation between low income (low occupational status) and high rates of school dropout by age-eligible high school youth. Of course, the income-job matrix also is associated with the quality and quantity of housing, residential concentration of Spanish, and many other social factors. For many of the tracts there is specific information on median incomes of Spanish surnames, but this merely adumbrates the pattern already visible in Table 4. Income differentials between Spanish and non-Spanish are both large and significant.

It may well be stated that low income is explainable through job concentrations, e.g. among laborers. However, if we rank the counties in the five states from lowest to highest density Spanish and compare the median incomes for specific occupational categories, we can derive some gross estimate

as to whether this is true. In the occupation "laborers except farm and mine," we find: (1) in California the rate of earnings remains above \$3,000 for the year 1959 when density is below 15 percent Spanish, but as Spanish density increases the income rate declines in the same job category; (2) in Colorado the "breaking point" also seems to be 15 percent Spanish, but at the earnings rate of \$2,300 annually; and (3) in New Mexico and Texas, however, the decline in median earnings is not perceptible until Spanish density in the county reaches a higher figure, approximately 40 percent.

The fact that there is an ascertainable point at which earnings within an occupational category declines as there are more Spanish in the county suggests the possibility of differential rate of pay for the same kinds of work. Of course, there are known differences in skill and work within any given occupational category, but it must also be noted that similar "breaking points" can be found in the "farm laborers" and "operatives and kindred" categories. However, the pattern among counties is not completely uniform in declining earnings with increasing Spanish density. But in the absence of more detailed data this measure gives some evidence for Spanish-non-Spanish income differentials. Further, it serves to give a more complete picture of the significance of the various indices of this disadvantaged group. Children and youth may not themselves see every aspect clearly, but without doubt they feel the effects.

NOTE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

The general subject of migratory labor is taken up elsewhere, but some word must be added here about the participation of Spanish-speaking in the migratory streams. During World War II special laws were enacted providing for the importation of agricultural workers in areas of labor shortage. At the end of the war the Department of Labor announced plans to end the program, which had arranged the importation of about 200,000 foreign workers, mostly Mexican, in the period 1942 to 1945. However, by 1950 the program had just started to become effective for growers seeking less costly labor. In 1950 alone over 76,000 entered under the wartime law, and in 1953 over 215,000 entered in addition to over one million "wetbacks. Although "wetbacks" constitute less than 40,000 per year today, over 300,000 foreign (largely Mexican) workers entered legally in 1961.

Due to the lower wages of Mexican nationals, thousands of Spanish-speaking, American citizens have been deprived of employment opportunities. In 1959 foreign workers were employed by less than two percent of U. S. farms. Of all farms using Mexican nationals, approximately 71 percent are in two states: Texas and California. Wage rates by this means are kept level or depressed, and this forces American workers to move. The rights of the foreign workers are often ignored.

Of the minimally estimated number of migratory workers (one million in the United States) about 348,000 are foreign workers, about 537,000 are United States citizens, and an undetermined number are dependents who travel with the workers (women, children, parents, and grandparents) who may or may not work. The northward movement of the Spanish-speaking segments come from Texas,

New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado and find at least a temporary destination in such areas as northern Michigan, Detroit, Toledo, Chicago, etc. Both foreign and Puerto Rican migrants are protected by contracts stipulating adequate housing, health measures, wages, etc., but the domestic worker has no such protection, except his individual ability to bargain with a prospective employer.

The tremendous deprivations suffered by children can hardly be calculated. With fathers working for fifty cents an hour during about one-third of the working days of the year, such children are often pressed into the work force in spite of child-labor laws. As early as August, 1950 the Census estimated that 190,000 children 10 to 13 years old and 205,000 14 and 15 year olds were working for pay in agriculture. They suffer health hazards, poor food and housing, the lack of stable family life, and rejection by the communities in which they live. Prospects for rural, Spanish-speaking migratory youth are dim indeed.

MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE

A vivid imagination is not needed for anyone to realize that the Spanish-speaking in the United States are a singularly disadvantaged group. Their large numbers, their youth, their distinctive historical-cultural identity, and especially their recent mass-movement into urban centers have created serious problems which require the attention of government at many levels. Private as well as public agencies could greatly aid local communities, the nation, as well as the Spanish-speaking themselves by developing the research and action programs needed for these problems.

This is neither the time nor the place to propose a complex list of recommendations. However, it is possible to speak of needs which have significant urgency and priority. In this vein we may point to four interrelated areas of needs for the Spanish-speaking in the United States.

First, we can point to the need for communication. Communication basically is a two-way process of exchanging understandings. To accomplish this exchange a technical and a deeper cultural issue must be resolved. The technical, formal barrier to communication is language. The Spanish-speaking minority feels inadequate and frustrated in English and the English-speaking majority shows little inclination to appreciate Spanish. This apparent impasse cannot long endure, if we have learned anything from the experience of the French, Scandinavian, Dutch, Italian migrants to this country. The new urban setting and distinctive youth of the Spanish-speaking create a favorable matrix for change in regard to language. Far more effort must be given in cities to have bilingual teachers encourage Spanish children and adults to speak and write English fluently. Evidence indicates that school systems in a number of communities are attempting this, but where funds are already in short supply, much is left undone or Spanish is completely forbidden in schools.

Language involves words and objective meanings, but the deeper, cultural issue refers to mutual appreciation and sympathy. It may be difficult for a

school system or a community, which is operated according to middle class norms, to appreciate a predominantly lower class, seemingly foreign ethnic group. In turn, Spanish people, both extremely young and recently rural, find the schools and cities devoid of what they would consider real community. Since the new norms are partly alien and possibly threatening, voluntary residential segregation increases any such centripetal tendency which may be brought on by outright discrimination. This more important facet of communication requires leadership on both sides.

The development of Spanish leadership suffers from the same debilities that have been documented for all minority leadership. The traditional patrón-peón and other forms of leadership are unadaptable and possibly a handicap (culturally) to the development of adequate patterns of group leadership. Yet the Anglo structure is relatively open to competent Spanish, although it is caste-like in form, but this permits siphoning off of potential Spanish leadership. This latter form of leader recognizes that he must achieve status in the direction of the Anglo culture. However, a general ambivalence and suspicion are accorded individuals of Spanish background who are "successful," since the Spanish broadly assume that success is bought by cooperation with the outgroup and betrayal of one's own. 14/

To break into this self-defeating, vicious circle of leadership development we must define leaders not as persons to present "demands," but persons to inspire, direct, and reflect the identity of Spanish people. Encouragement of Spanish participation in church, business, and private associations is mandatory. By such experience in community development, expanding numbers and influence will bring responsible leadership in a unified society.

If Spanish youth are to be able to look ahead to responsible positions of community participation and leadership, then economic improvement becomes imperative. The language barrier and cultural exclusiveness have already retarded union and management participation by Spanish. There is a serious need for effective vocational counselling of youth. The increasing participation of females in the labor force is indicative of change, but this may well be related to the higher rates of broken families among Spanish. Job training according to ability rather than according to lower-class expectations is indicated. Apprenticeship training and more active prevention of discrimination in employment also are integral parts of economic improvement. Parallel with these economic factors must come more adequate enforcement of housing, slum, and sanitation laws in all cities. The unemployment and underemployment of Spanish skills often result in an unnecessary drain on a community's welfare funds as well as on the decency of thousands of Spanish families. And as families deteriorate or remain static at a low level of achievement, children and youth will continue the pattern. This constitutes education in frustration.

The need for education never ends, but for such a disadvantaged group as the Spanish in the United States, the need is particularly acute. The evidence indicates that as Spanish have moved to cities, grade-level achievement has risen, but we must also recall the high proportions of functionally illiterate. A Spanish person of 17 or 18 years is already an adult, more

likely to be in the labor force and married than is the Anglo. Adult remedial, language, vocational, and civic education is required. If economic and community opportunities are to be filled, then education must supply the trained personnel. Again, however, the vicious circle of "no opportunities - no motivation for education" and vice-versa must be broken. Perhaps a key to this issue would be the solution of the drop-out situation. With about 100 percent of age-eligible Spanish children in elementary school and less than 50 percent of the age-eligible Spanish youth in high school, an important turning point in the Spanish life-career is defined. There is a particular need to develop research on the causes of such gross depreciation of potentials. We need knowledge based on reality rather than idiosyncratic experience, "logic," and broad inferences. Our common need to discover skill and talent and to provide the setting for their development cannot be gainsaid. With solid knowledge on the comparative influence of school, business, family, social class, and Spanish culture on dropouts, we could develop effective community programs towards solution.

In summary, we may again say that all such needs are interrelated and point generally to the necessity for Spanish participation in and use of all community resources. Their recent rural status creates many problems in urban adjustment. Numerous American cities are now experiencing a new wave of immigrants who are living at lower living standards than Anglo or nonwhites, even in the same slums. As in the case of most minorities, children and youth become innocent victims in the vicious circles of depressing influences. A fundamental urgency exists to encourage and promote family and community pride and optimism among Spanish. Aid to dependant children is important, but is segmental and not an end in itself. Pride, optimism, and social participation do not arise from outside the family or neighborhood community, but must be built voluntarily from within. What seems necessary is to remove barriers to growth and to open facilities, opportunities, and self-help incentives. The Spanish approach will be unique, of course, but there is no long term solution to poverty, personal and social depression, and aimlessness, unless the group is encouraged to decide voluntarily to take responsibility and set up its own programs. Delinquency prevention, recreation, neighborhood renewal, education, and the churches suggest some foci of organization already understood by Spanish.

FOOTNOTES

1. The present analysis draws its basic data from research conducted at the University of Notre Dame during 1962, which was financially supported by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. This extensive report to the Commission is entitled The Spanish-Speaking People in the United States and is authored by Julian Samora with the assistance of Donald N. Barrett and William V. D'Antonio. The study was based on a thorough examination of existing literature, a survey of expert opinion, field checks of selected aspects, and a somewhat extensive demographic investigation. The latter included examinations of basic 1950 and 1960 census materials (published and unpublished). Most of the tables in the present study were developed from the state volumes and PHC (1) reports for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (e.g. see tract data in Table 4).
2. It is estimated that this population is under-enumerated by approximately 10 percent because so many do not have Spanish-surnames, yet identify themselves historically and culturally with the population.
3. In the order of numbers in 1960, the following suggest the large nationality stocks (first and second generation) in the United States: (Parentheses give population in millions) Italy, (4.5); German, (4.3); United Kingdom, (2.9); Poland, (2.8); U.S.S.R., (2.3); Ireland, (1.8); Mexico, (1.7); Asia, (1.1); Austria, (1.1); Sweden, (1.0).
4. U. S. Bureau of Census. U. S. Census of Population, 1960. Final Report PC(1) - 1C, Table 69.
5. Ibid. Table 70.
6. A term used in the Southwest to identify the natively-English-Speaking group, but excluding other ethnic groups.
7. Samora. op. cit., Section I, p. 9.
8. Williams, Robin. American Society, 1952, Chapter 11.
9. For detailed exposition of methodology and its broader scope, see Samora, op. cit., Appendix C.
10. This is the common abbreviation for "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area". These urban units have at least 50,000 inhabitants in their central cities.
11. Burma, John H., and Williams, David E. An Economic, Social and Educational Survey of Rio Arriba and Taos Counties.
12. Woods, Sister Frances J. Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups New York: Harpers, 1956.
13. Samora. op. cit., Section III.
14. "Subordinate Leadership in a Bi-cultural Community: An Analysis." American Sociological Review. August, 1954, 19, 417.